1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

Dances.—The members of a *Caingang* subgroup dance together. The dancers, about 3 feet (1 m.) apart, form two concentric circles around a line of fires, the men inside and the women outside. A singer in the center first shakes his rattle and, placing each foot alternately before and behind, dances sideways. At this signal, the other performers shake their rattles, and both circles begin to turn in one direction, following the rhythm of the song and rattle. Men without rattles strike the ground with stamping tubes. Behind them, women lift their forearms and move their empty hands slightly to each side in a kind of "blessing" gesture. When the leader is back to the starting point, he stops, and the others wait quietly until he is rested or is replaced by another leader. 535

Toys and games.—*Caingang* children are very skillful at filliping sticks, maize kernels, and small arrows resting on the bent arm. Maize shuttlecocks are batted with the palm of the hand. Children spin tops made of a clay whorl or a lump of wax on a stick. 524 857

The favorite *Caingang* adult sport is a mock battle between members of two communities, who hurl small clubs or, at night, firebrands at each other. Although these weapons may wound or even kill, casualties are not resented and do not call for blood revenge. This sport is played on open ground where heaps of clubs have previously been deposited. Women, protecting themselves with bark shields, run among the players to pick up and hand the clubs to their men. The *Aweikoma* throw stones wrapped in small fiber bags, which are parried with short clubs. The *Caingang* are also fond of wrestling. 526

Narcotics.—A great many stone pipes have been found in the *Caingang* area—a puzzling fact since smoking has not been observed among these Indians. 172 276

Drinking and intoxicants.—The *Caingang* prepare intoxicants from maize, sweet potatoes, pine nuts, honey, and the fruit of several species of palm, especially buriti (*Mauritia vinifera*) and jussara (*Euterpe* sp.). Maize is slightly roasted over ashes, ground, and boiled in large pots for about a night. The next day part of the mass is chewed, then boiled again with the remainder. Shortly before the feast, the liquid is transferred to a huge trough made of a tree trunk and half buried in the ground. The liquor is heated by a fire built around the trough or by red-hot stones or potsherds which are thrown into it. During 2 or 3 days of fermentation, men dance around the beer, singing, shaking their rattles, and beating the ground with the stamping tubes.[6] The beer is often mixed with honey. 273

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* start to prepare their mead a month before its consumption. A mixture of honey and water, to which they add

[6] Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 45) distinguishes three kinds of beer: Goya-fá, made of naturally fermented maize meal; quequi (Kiki), prepared with maize and honey; and goya-kupri, made of chewed maize.

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273 the juice of a fern to "make the beer red," is fermented in wooden troughs from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.) long made of tree stumps hollowed out by burning and chopping, then closed at both ends with wax. To accelerate fermentation, the beverage is heated every 3d day with red-hot stones and then covered with pieces of bark.

COMMUNICATION

The *Caingang* leave messages in symbolic code for those who will 202 follow the same path. A stick with honey indicates where a bees nest has been found; dolls and sticks represent a feast to which some group is being invited; an inclined stick shows the time of day at which some event took place; feathers scattered on the ground tell of a successful hunting party, etc. (Manizer, 1930, p. 790). Lozano (1873, 1:425) stated that to declare war, the *Guayaná* (i. e., the *Caingang*) stuck an arrow into a tree near a path followed by their enemies. [574] A circle of maize cobs on the ground or hanging from a tree was an invitation to a drinking bout.

RELIGION

771 **Religious beliefs.**—The *Aweikoma* conceive the world to be 776 strongly animistic, peopled with ghosts (kuplêng) and spirits (nggï-yúdn) of all sorts who dwell in trees, rocks, mountains, stars, winds, and in large and small animals. To meet a spirit is, as a rule, an ominous event. But spirits may be friendly and appear to a man to offer their aid. Those who are assisted in hunting by a guardian spirit share with it the game which they have killed. A man may even adopt a spirit child and place it in his wife's womb.

Aweikoma-Caingang share the widespread belief that all animals 825 have "masters," that is to say, spirits that control and protect them. Such spirits are willing to give up some of their kin to satisfy men's needs, but are angered if people destroy them wantonly or if hunters refuse an animal "offered" to them.

756 **Shamanism.**—The *Caingang* shaman consults spirits at night, puffing his pipe until he is surrounded by a cloud of smoke. The spirits talk to him in long whistles and tell him where to find a favorable hunting ground or abundant honey. They may also reveal the outcome of an undertaking involving the band.

755 Shamans are also doctors, but this role is less conspicuous among 757 the *Caingang* than elsewhere and is even absent among the *Caingang* of Palmas and of São Paulo. Among the decadent *Aweikoma-Caingang*, observed by Henry (1941, p. 76), shamans only treated members of their immediate family and did not receive a fee for their cures. The shaman knows many magic remedies, generally herbs, the virtues

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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killed you. When they killed you, I wandered around suffering, but you 768
come to call me!" When the ghost-soul at last went away, she was "all 775
green. She stood there without saying anything. He [her husband] said to her, 'Why are you green?' But she said nothing. She sat down holding on to a post. Then he asked if she was sick—if she had a pain in the belly. But she did not talk. Wanenggló [her husband] asked her whether she had seen a ghost-soul. Probably she saw a ghost-soul. But she did not say anything." Like vendetta enemies, the ghost-souls are "other things"—it is the only category the Kaingáng have for those who dwell outside the limits of the extended families—and for people in this category they know only one emotion, fear-anger.

When the Kaingáng are drunk, their malevolent and fearsome impulses 152
rise to the surface, and the memory of death plays its part in this. Festa 579
time, when the beer troughs are brimming with the steaming, sourish, honey beer, is a special occasion for remembering the dead. It is also the occasion when recollections of adultery unpunished or of slights unrequited surge into consciousness. While some dance, sing, or brawl, others sit around the edge of the dance circle with their heads in their hands and tears streaming down their faces, and their sobs and high rhythmic keening mingle with the noise of quarreling and disordered singing. When they have done with their hour or so of weeping, they rise and fill their baskets or gourds with beer and join in the festa. No recollection of the dead can occur without unleashing fear, and fear cannot be liberated without the eruption of anger, so the memory of the dead only adds to the disruptive forces that are set in motion by the beer. The more one knows about the Kaingáng, the more one is struck by the extent to which the very roots of their being have been undermined and torn by impulses to violence. This is all the more amazing when we remember what affectionate people they seem to be—how much they love to multiply a hundredfold all kinds of personal attachments. Nevertheless, when drunkenness uncovers the Kaingáng personality, it does not bubble over in rivulets of tenderness, but pours out in torrents of violence. The only outlet is murder, and that is why festas, if not actually the scene of murders, used to be almost always the forerunners of raids on the Brazilians or on vendetta enemies. The Kaingáng themselves understand, in a way, what the festa meant to them, for they say, "We had festas in order to go to attack the Brazilians." Of course not every festa is characterized by violence, but many are.[3]

[3] Although the Kaingáng held an old-time beer festa at my request the aboriginal beer troughs have been superseded by jugs of sugar cane whiskey, and the tumultuous singing by the music of an accordion played by a white man. These changes, however, have not curbed the essential temper of the Indians, and fights still occur at festas. [634] [273] [777]

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222 Honey is got out of a "dangerous" bees' hive in much the same way.
262 Two or more men cooperate in the chopping and handling of the fire, and the honey is divided among them. Honey is a kind of free food, for when a hive is discovered anyone who happens along may share it. On the other hand, honey that has been collected is the property of whoever has found it, and sometimes it is hidden so that other folks will not take it. Wasps are not a very important food item for the Kaingáng, but honey is, although it is somewhat of a delicacy. No one thinks of making a meal of honey, but it is a godsend in the middle of the day.

When the Kaingáng were first pacified, says the agent, they climbed up to a hive if it was out of reach, but in these degenerate days they chop the tree down rather than climb it. Although the Kaingáng did not always climb up to a hive that was too far up on the trunk to be reached from a scaffold, they certainly did it frequently, and 1 per cent of the total number 165 of deaths was due to falls from beehives. It was a hazardous occupation, for the climbing-loop might break or slip. Nowadays the most the Kain- 417 gáng do in this way is to build little scaffolds from which they chop out hives that may be six or seven feet above the ground. These scaffolds are made by lashing and cross-lashing posts to adjacent trees. Sometimes the scaffold consists only of a few steeply sloping posts that are tied together and leaned against a tree. The Indian stands on this uncertain perch and sinks his axe precisely around the edges of the hive so that it scarcely touches the delicate honey-laden cells. When the hive has been laid bare he places it entire in his wax-lined basket and sponges up with tree hair, a mosslike growth that clings to most of the trees in the forest, whatever honey has escaped.

Honey Beer

● 203 A man and his cousins or brothers decide to make beer for his in-laws. They cut down cedars, hollow them for troughs, and go to look for honey. After several days they have enough. Then they send their wives for water to fill the troughs. The honey is poured into the water, and the water is heated with hot stones. The stones are placed in special cylindrical baskets which are submerged in the water and suspended from rods placed across the mouth of the trough and moved from one end of it to the other. The woody stem of a fern called *nggign* is pounded and titrated and the red infusion mixed in the trough. This is to "make the beer red"; without *nggign*, say the Kaingáng, the beer would not ferment. This goes on for days, and then the mouth of the trough is covered with strips of bark and the beer is left standing several days longer. When it begins to bubble the Indians decide that it is *thô*, intoxicating or bitter, and ready to drink. The Indians say that instead of water the milk of a kind of palm is some-

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times used and that this makes the beer particularly *thó*. Sometimes a little 273
medicine is added for the sake of general good health. From time to time the beer is stirred with a long rod of bamboo, and the scum that rises is scooped off with the hands.

Preparation of Food

The women make pine-nut soup. A woman chews the raw pine nuts to 252
a pulp, mixes them with water, and boils them. Sometimes they are pounded. The usual way of eating pine nuts is roasted in the shell in the coals.

Meats are sometimes boiled, and nowadays the broth is mixed with manioc meal and eaten. Most meat is roasted. This may be done in two ways. A scaffold of green branches is erected, a fire built under it, and the meat placed on it and roasted. Or a shallow pit is dug, a fire built in it, and green branches laid over it, the meat is then laid on the branches with leaves on top of it, and the whole covered with earth and left there for several hours. When the meat is taken off the branches it is juicy and delicious. The pit method is the best way to roast meat. In roasting meat in this way at least two people generally cooperate. One digs the hole while the other gets wood and leaves.

Small animals are spitted and broiled. Fish are broiled.

Palm shoots are boiled or eaten raw.

Kēmẽ is made from the pith of the trunk of a certain palm. Leaves are laid on the ground and a cloth placed on top of them. The trunk is chopped vertically into strips; these are placed on a log and pounded with a stick. The mass is sifted in a basket, and the siftings are stuffed into a bamboo tube and roasted in the coals for five or ten minutes. The mass in the tube is then taken out, made into balls or cakes, and roasted in the coals. It tastes much like wet sawdust, and the Indians nowadays do not eat it even when they have the chance. Formerly it seems to have been fairly important in their diet. They mixed it with soup just as they do now with manioc meal. The Kaingáng say that in ancient times they used corn in the same way.

The Kaingáng used also to make a soup of the pollen of the pine tree. *Tai* fruit and wild *mamão* are roasted in the coals. Sometimes *tai* is pounded in a mortar and eaten.

FIRE

When the Kaingáng move camp the woman takes an ember[9] from the 372
last fire. Men carry no fire; so if they need it to roast nuts when they are hungry or to make fire to drive away wasps or "dangerous bees" they

[9] Any wood will do.

*193 requires the participial form of the verb. There is an example in the text, l. 25. But
*539 in l. 47 *tɔ̃* does not appear.

Other examples:

ti ha ŋv ɛ tɔ̃ 'moŋ loŋ yæ
he he honey beer warm in order to

ŋv tã kɔðí klɛ̃ 'pɛ̃ mu
he stone on top fire-wood

●[273] Then he put fire-wood on the stones to warm the beer (i. e. he heated rocks in the fire in order to use them to warm the beer).

kũ ŋv ɔŋ ɛ tɔ̃ ti pæ'nũ
then they they him to hit with a projectile

yæ ŋv ɔŋ ti to paŋk'paŋ mu
in order to they him to shoot at repeatedly

Then they shot at him repeatedly in order to hit him; i. e. then they fired at him repeatedly.

But the following sentence is an exception to this practise:

kũ ɔŋ · ti ŋglɔkɔ'ðiŋ dʒæ
then they him to pierce the lower lip in order to

ðæ kɔ nɛŋ'viŋ mu
in order to stick make

Then they made sticks in order to pierce his lip.

In the following sentences, in which confusion between the subject of the independent clause and the subject of the dependent clause might arise it is not avoided through the use of *ɛ*:

pa'tæ hatɔ̃ ɛ tɔ̃ ti 've kũ ti
a male personal name he him see and his

ðe klike mu
heart split

When *pa'tæ* saw him *pa'tæ*'s heart split (i. e. he became angry).

ti 'haŋv ɛ tɔ̃ patæ 've tɛ̃ kũ
he he a male personal name see and so

ti ðe 'klike mu
his heart split

When he saw *pa'tæ* he became angry with *pa'tæ*.

[P.195(A)]

000 certain trees and the ripening of certain fruits.

802 These Indians count from one to five on the fingers of one hand, and continue up to ten on the other hand. They indicate other quantities with both hands.

757 They treat diseases with the juice of various plants, nearly always applied externally by means of rubbing and massage. Some organic products such as deer stomachs [buxo] etc. are also used [There is a Brazilian plant, Amaiova cryptocarpa, which is popularly called "deer stomach" (bucho de veado). As some of the information in this article may have been obtained second-hand, the above might be the result of erroneous interpretation. --Translator]

They have the habit of tightly binding up all painful body areas, not only in case of snake bite but of any disease as well.

323 177 They formerly used various objects of fired clay, such as pots of different sizes and shapes and small vessels of varying form which they utilized to prepare and cook their food.

In the course of their later raids on civilized populations, however, they found similar utensils of iron and other metals [128] which they naturally came to prefer. As a result the art of ceramics declined sharply, especially following their contact with us. Prior to this contact, some of the older members of the tribe still made pottery.

821 323 It is obvious that they need a special clay for the manufacture of these objects. They believe that rainbows point to deposits of this clay, and call them kukron-ndouma--"pot arrows"--on account [764] of this belief. They never buried their dead in earthen jars nor do they do so now, but dispose of the bodies in the manner described above.

852 Every year, toward the end of December or the beginning of January--during the lámbang-uan season, at the height of our southern summer--they carry out important celebrations for the baptism of children.

273 852 The Botocudo prepare a drink for the occasion which they call móng-ma. Its basic element is wild honey, and the preparation is a rather lengthy process. One moon before the event, the Indians have already started on various specialized tasks. The fathers of the children to be baptized are entrusted with the building of large troughs

273 where the liquid is laid to ferment. These vessels are built master-
852 fully with the greatest patience and skill.

The thick trunks of old cedars are selected for the purpose, felled, and cut into pieces from one and a half to two meters long, which are stripped of their bark.

Then a longitudinal opening is made in the wood, eighteen to twenty centimeters wide, and the inside of the log is hollowed out until the side walls are from three to four centimeters and the end walls from eight to ten centimeters in thickness.

They achieve this by means of fire and also with a sort of chisel which was formerly made of stone and which is now made of iron.

Once the log has been carefully hollowed, its end walls are thickly waxed to make them completely waterproof.

While the children's fathers carry out this task, the other relatives go out in search of honey. Small groups of Indians enter the forest in every direction, happy with the prospect of the feast and singing and jesting along the way. They return laden with honey and game.

The honey is laid out in the troughs along with water and with the juice extracted from ferns and from the stems of young palm trees. Then the openings of the troughs, kakõgma, are covered with large pieces of cedar bark and topped with heavy weights.

The liquid rests thus for two weeks, at the end of which some round stones, previously heated in large fires, are plunged in to accelerate the process of fermentation. This procedure is repeated several times, until the liquid grows very warm. Then the troughs are covered once more, and when the stones grow cold they are replaced by hot ones.

This process is repeated for three days, and then interrupted for another three days. In this manner the drink ferments quickly and easily. [129]

852 In the meantime, the rest of the tribe, with the help of the women, make ornaments for the celebration, and prepare ground for dancing and games.

They select an appropriate site which they clear, level out and clean carefully in the shape of a vast circle. All around it small shelters are built, facing in. On the day of the celebration, an